2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

622 hut of one of Meya's wives. Meya's sister wrote a letter to tell him
558 of this and he replied that he could do nothing until he returned.
837 In 1946, Meya returned to be demobilized. The third night after his
166 return he questioned his wives about their fidelity during his absence. They at first held out against him but before long he intimidated them into admitting that they had slept with the village headman. Meya now went to complain to Mapata, who was Cikumba's perpetual mother's brother, and he said that he would come to the village the next day.

When Mapata came he confronted Cikumba with the accusation. Cikumba denied it until Mapata called the women. When they confessed Cikumba was forced to admit his guilt. Mapata now decided to call in an arbitrator, Isa, an important but unrelated headman who lived close at hand. Isa said he would come the following day when the matter could be thrashed out. When Isa and Mapata came they asked the women about the affair in public. They admitted the charge and Cikumba did not deny it. Isa then remonstrated with him for being a bad man and said that he was ashamed to hear about it. Cikumba had to pay £6 10s. to the injured man, Meya, who, however, refused to take it. He argued that Cikumba ought to have behaved as a father to him. But Cikumba had not. He, Meya, could not remain living in the village because his wives would be as Cikumba's wives. Isa said that he could not object because Cikumba had caused the trouble and had broken the village himself. How could he complain? Meya took two-thirds of the huts in the village away with him.

The Headman as a Representative of a Corporate Group

622 The headman is not only responsible for keeping the peace
689 between the members of his village, but he is also supposed to control his members in their relationships with other villages. If members take corporate action against other villages, even if they do so without the consent of the headman, the chief will consider the village headman responsible. This was brought out clearly in the relationships between Cikoja, Mapata and Masimbo in Chiwalo's section.

622 Cikoja and Mapata are two of the more important headmen in
689 Chiwalo's section. Masimbo is a minor village headman who lives
423 in Mapata's village area. The quarrel arose over the [illegible]n of
226 fishing rights in a small pool lying between the two ma[illegible]s. This pool was excavated by Cikoja and his villagers in 1924 d[illegible]g

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

a severe drought, and he claimed the rights over it. One day in 1930, some boys from Mapata village came down to the pool with fish-poison. At about noon some boys from Cikoja's village arrived with their traps. When they saw the Mapata boys using fish-poison they told them to desist and tried to take away the fish. This led to a fight in which knives were drawn. One of Cikoja's boys ran back to tell him, and in anger he came down to the pool with some adults. The Mapata boys now ran back to Masimbo who immediately assembled some men and came to the assistance of the Mapata boys. The two groups joined battle immediately and there were casualties on both sides. Mapata heard about this and came running down to separate them.

The next morning they took the dispute to Chiwalo. He started by asking why Mapata had used fish-poison in someone else's pool without permission. Mapata replied that he did not know that his boys had gone down there. He said that Masimbo had told him about the conflict and that he had gone down to stop it. He was not aware of it before. Chiwalo now turned to Masimbo and said, 'Masimbo, you are in the wrong. You have caused the children to suffer. You went to make war because of your children. The people of Mapata, they are in the wrong because they did not report to the owner of the pool.'

When Cikoja was asked if he had anything to say he only replied that he was ashamed of what had happened because he was the first in the area, and until then they had been friends. The conflict had arisen because the children had done something which they did not know was wrong.

Chiwalo ordered Masimbo to pay 5*s.* and Mapata 6*s.* to Cikoja. He then told Cikoja that he should brew some beer and share it with the other two villages so that friendship might be restored and the children might go from village to village without fear. The chief's instructions were carried out and normal amicable relationships were re-established.

The way in which the villages acted as corporate groups is well illustrated by this incident. The responsibility of the village headmen for the activity of their members also emerges. The chief found Masimbo in the wrong for causing the fight, but he also fined Mapata because his boys had used fish-poison. The fines were paid by the village headmen, Masimbo and Mapata, to the village headman Cikoja, for they are the representatives of the corporate groups under them.

In no other field of village relationships is the corporate

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

The m'michila then gets off on the left side, his assistant on the right and they stand in the shallow depressions. The m'michila starts asking riddles; he says, "*Ndewé* (riddle)!" and is answered by his assistant "*Jiiche* (let it come)!" Here is one:

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"*Kanguwe, hapile pansi!*"
"The little mouse it has defeated, it has gone into the ground!"
Answer: "*Michiipa!* (rusts)!"

He then goes round the crowd for the answer — if they cannot guess, they say, "*Ali sapwa,*" "it is yourself (to answer)." There are hundreds of such riddles.

The m'michila points to the tusks depicted in the *chingungo* and tells the people, "Long ago this used to be an elephant; look at the tusks." The hump at its back he tells them is the same as *ching'undung'unda* which they will find farther along.

They pass next to mbunda, the zebra; a pair, male and female, is always figured.

"*Ajiji apati mbunda ja mbuja Achilimasio! Yoonpa pakata!*"
"This one is it not the zebra of Mister Mlomasio! everything (is) beautiful!"

Sometimes a story is told to show that the zebra used to go to the sea to drink but seeing the whale, he ran away and came to the country of the python.

Then to nato, the python; he sings:

"*Anaato hwajenji! pawa, ejo! Yoonpa pakata!*"
"You python come and answer! all (is) beautiful!"

At the crocodile, ngwena, he sings:

"*Chingwena ulimba, pawa! ejo akapwa mumpakapaka mazi!*"
"Mr Crocodile cleverness, he sleeps at the side of the water!"

At mwezi, the moon:

"*Amwezi ulimba, pawa! ejo, amwe!*"
"You moon cleverness, !"

Next, they come to *wakalala ukawa*, the people drunk with beer. Two men lie on the ground, feet to feet with nothing on; the pudenda are covered with bark-cloth and the whole of their bodies painted with earth and flour to look like two female figures in earth. The song is:

"*Wakalala ukawa: kumbala mwanke, wakalala ukawa!*"
"Drunk with beer: come and see the women, drunk with beer!"

A moral is pointed: the disgrace to a woman who gets drunk, lies on the ground, and exposes her person. As the m'michila makes these remarks, the figures breathe stertorously as a drunken woman would. He conducts the *wali* and all the other people past many of the other images such as *chiwé*, *ngoko*, *ndemende*, *mbala*, etc., and only stays at those he considers his own special *ingango*. The seven specially dealt with by Mlomasio were as above together with *mbalapi*, the sable antelope:

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